1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

THE LIFE CYCLE. II. ADOLESCENCE TO DEATH

PREMARITAL SEX CUSTOMS[1]

WHEN a youth achieves adulthood, he is given much advice by older men. He is cautioned not to overindulge in sexual activity, but he is by no means urged to remain celibate until married. Young women, similarly, are taught not to offer themselves too freely, but they are not told to cherish virginity, except in the case of Christian families. Masturbation is said to be indulged in by boys, but, although some informants felt that the practice is increasing, all agreed that it is not widespread. Homosexuality is reported to be moderately common among young girls in the spring. According to a typical native opinion expressed during a discussion, these habits indicate that such youngsters are ready to be married. Berdaches, pederasts, and sodomists are not infrequently mentioned in the literature, particularly in conjunction with shamanism;[2] but little was said or known about these practices at present. One informant did volunteer the statement that sodomy with ewes was becoming fairly common, and he attributed its origin to the Argentine, where, he claimed, the act was performed with female llamas. On the whole sodomy is considered dangerous and likely to cause disease, but bachelors observed in the act are simply advised to get married.

A girl with a high mound of Venus is considered particularly attractive. It is conventional for men to seek out and choose as mistresses or wives such girls as they find desirable, but women are not supposed to take the initiative in selecting lovers. When a man finds an opportunity for intercourse he acts promptly. There is no anticipatory fondling or "petting" and not much time is devoted to preliminaries.[3] Consummation

[1] This section comprises material obtained from several informants, of whom the principal one was J. M. Collío.

[2] Latcham, 1924, p. 629-30.

[3] One old-time polygynist, who had observed the conventional politeness and deference of Euro-American males, expressed wonder that they ever succeeded in gaining possession of a woman.

1: Tiller E-5 (1968) 1951 SC4 Araucanians SC4
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chinve, after which the assemblage enjoys a hearty feast. Soon after, the *machi* returns home, accompanied by the same delegation that first sought her services. Part of her payment, which may consist of produce, jewelry, animals, and implements, is made at once, and the remainder is given at a stipulated date, often with the addition of numerous gifts. A *machi* must be paid in full, whether or not the patient recovers. Deaths are blamed on evil spirits beyond the *machi*'s control.

All *machitunes* are conducted along the pattern just described. Many variations exist, however, because each *machi* has full charge of a ceremony and must be immediately obeyed by all participants. Individual whims may thus enter into the conduct of the rites. Then, too, certain differences arise from the natures of the various ailments that are being cured. Not all *machis* profess to be equally skilled in handling every kind of illness. Specialization in particular diseases is common. As one skeptic pointed out, this has the practical value of limiting competition. Molina long ago classified curers as *empirics*, who work with herbs; *nilmes*, who extract insects; and *machis* who counteract witch-caused diseases.[9]

MACHI PERSONALITY

Considerable variation exists among the personalities of those who become *machis*. Many years ago the office was generally held by men, and it is practically certain that they were abnormal, at least with respect to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been true hermaphrodites, the rest were berdaches or transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy and pederasty was common.[10] There then followed a period when the post of *machi* might be filled by a man or a woman,[11] and at this stage sexual irregularity is less frequently charged, particularly in regard to female practitioners. At present, male *machis* are rare, and some sexual irregularity is still associated with them (Pl. IX, Fig. 1). Certainly, they wear feminine clothes while performing their duties, and it is not unlikely

[9] Molina, 1808, II: 91.

[10] Latcham, 1924, p. 630. Medicine men are described in Smith, 1855, pp. 234–36. Also, see Moesbach, 1930, pp. 330–49.

[11] Cf. Hunter, 1939, p. 113.

1: Titiev E-9 (1968) 1951 SG4 Arapaho SG4
Maguche-Medicine

that they are homosexuals. For all that, their services are much in demand, and many natives regard them as more efficient than are women. Nevertheless, the great majority of contemporary *nuchis* are women who seem to be sexually normal.[18] They marry, bear children, care for their households, and follow the usual feminine occupations, except when engaged in professional activities. A suggestion of homosexuality is revealed in their relations with servants and assistants, and whispers of adultery during *nuchitaw* are not uncommon, but the older pattern of marital sexual abnormality no longer prevails.

The person who becomes a *nuchi* must have a strong will and character, partly because of the danger implied in the close conceptual link of witch and shaman, and partly because of the long and arduous training program. Many young women deliberately avoid all *nuchis*, and so difficult has it become to secure recruits that established practitioners may resort to subtle threats in order to get newcomers to join their ranks. If they meet a likely girl who is the descendant of a former *nuchi*, they may tell her that she is going to sicken and die unless she takes up the profession. More commonly, especially if a young, single woman becomes a patient, a *nuchi* may tell her that she cannot recover unless she agrees to serve as an apprentice after her cure. Coercion is not necessarily employed in all cases. Some women voluntarily apply for training, presumably because of the high fees they may earn. Another class of recruits includes people who have had narrow escapes from death by lightning. There is a belief that sometimes a frightened woman faints during a severe thunderstorm and finds on recovery that she has acquired the knowledge and power to be a *nuchi*.[19] If she decides to accept the call, she is supposed to be superior to an ordinary curer.

[18] Compare the independently made summary of the transition from male to female *nuchis* in Cooper, 1946, p. 750.

[19] Cf. Cooper (1946, p. 750): "A person took the profession not by free choice or quest; the calling was rather imposed supernaturally upon her."

4:Latcham F-S (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

element has to be extracted. For this purpose the *machi* goes provided with a worm, grub, beetle, lizard, or other small creature that can easily be hidden, and made to appear as if taken from the sick person.

If the patient dies, the *machi* saves his responsibility by declaring that he has been poisoned, and then proceeds to discover the poisoner.

To avoid feuds and reprisals, the blame was generally cast on a *kaiwen*, who had taken the form of some living creature, revealed to the *machi* in a trance, but was sometimes imputed to some individual against whom the exorcist had a grudge, or else to a known enemy of the deceased or his family. In such a case a hunt was made for the guilty person, and if caught he was burnt alive. Oliveros, one of the Spanish chroniclers, described one of these executions:—

"Three *stakes* were driven into the ground in the form of a triangle. The victim was tied to one of them, which was shorter than the others, his hands fastened behind his back. His feet were fastened to the other two with thongs thus forcing his legs apart, obliging him to assume a sitting position. A fire was lighted between his thighs, which burnt them, his vitals, breast and face. Meanwhile he was demanded to confess his crime and declare his accomplices."

Guevara adds that they sometimes rubbed the victim's body with fat, to cause him greater torment. This led to reprisals on the part of the relatives, and was a frequent cause of intertribal warfare.

The *machis* have no hard and fast ritual for these ceremonies, but each one introduces the innovations he considers necessary. Their huts are known by the branch of *canelo* planted before the door, from which hangs the drum, symbol of their office.

Fraternity was common among the *machis* and still is to a certain extent, though not so much as formerly. Those who exercise the office are called *kexpe*. They do not wear the chamal, but a skin apron, called *punua*, which is a sign of their calling. They wear their hair long, and use feminine ornaments. They were formerly greatly respected for their double functions, but now are despised by many of the Indians.

Under the heading of Ceremonies will be found a more detailed account of the *machitun* or witch hunting.

Morals.—There being no idea of sin, or future punishment for evil doing, religion exercises a very slight influence on the Araucano code of morals. The Indian's ideas of right or wrong must therefore be judged from a standpoint different from those of Christian races. Two facts of the utmost importance must be taken into account in forming an estimate of this question.

First: the wife is considered the absolute property of the husband, and he can dispose of her as he thinks fit, even to killing her, without anyone interfering any more than they would at the disposal of his other property. Secondly: the father possesses the right of life or death over his children, as they are part of his own flesh. If a father slew his child, they said that he was spilling his own blood. The same idea held good if a son killed his father.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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834 while doing so. During an interview two girls, 17 and 19 years of age, wanted a picture taken of themselves but would not pose in the presence of three young men who were also waiting to be photographed. Finally two of the men, nonrelatives of the girls, walked away. Since the one that remained was a near relative, the girls posed. Later the mother of the girls remarked, "I am glad to know my girls had enough modesty not to have a picture taken this morning in the presence of those two men; they are not related to us."

836 A non-Araucanian was certain that most girls lived chaste lives, although she knew several who had not—each had been promiscuous with several young unmarried men before she finally married one.

An Araucanian man in his forties, in speaking of conditions as they were when he was a young man, said: "Formerly things were very [241] good. For instance, several families assisted each other at threshing time and everybody then slept in the fields. Never did one hear of things happening among the young people. Everyone had deep respect for everyone else in those days." A non-Araucanian teacher listening in agreed: "As many as 20 families will help each other. I have never heard it said that there is immoral conduct at such times." A non-[838] Araucanian man noted, with regard to the behavior of unmarried men today and in recent times, that there is much homosexuality among them; that men speak of it freely and openly.

837 Very rarely was a married woman unchaste—only one instance was mentioned and that with disfavor. The woman concerned complained that she was being maligned by people who were saying that she was spending time with other men. (Her husband was serving a term in jail for stealing cattle.) Not long after this she sent her five children to her husband's parents, already advanced in years, telling them that she herself would come later. When she did not arrive, the old people went in search of her. Her ruka had been cleared of everything, even the children's school books. She had gone to live with the other man.

In general men respect women. "If a woman passes by a group of men, one may say, 'I would like to have her.' Another will say, 'She is a married woman,' and that puts an end to that conversation."

QUARRELING, ANGER, IMPRECATIONS, MURDER, REVENGE, SUICIDE, CANNIBALISM

578 Quarrels occurred between persons and between families, but comparatively rarely. Brothers and sisters seldom quarreled. "We learned at home as children to respect and to do things for each other." A 26-year-old woman told of a quarrel she was having with her eldest

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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595 would be so unusual that they would be talked about, and we would eventually hear about them. I have never heard of a single case."

836 Promiscuity rarely occurs today. Also, according to Cooper's sources there were only sporadic cases in former times (1946, p. 722).

838 A promiscuous woman is called ñuadomo. A non-Araucanian man who spent many years among the Araucanians knew that promiscuity on the part of an unmarried woman was a rare thing; on the part of a married woman it never occurred. He was certain, however, that homosexuality among young men was common.

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

582 Cross-cousin marriage was institutional, preferably so between a woman's son and her brother's daughter. Such marriages existed in all areas covered by the present study. "In fact it is the best way to marry: a woman's children and her brother's children are really expected to marry, and that is the way it is generally done." The children of brothers and sisters of a man's wives may marry the children of any other wife, provided the wives are not sisters—"after all, those children are not related."

Cross-cousin marriages were being discouraged, however, by non-Araucanians in all areas. Stutterers and children less alert mentally than others were pointed out as offspring of such unions.

Marriage between parallel cousins is forbidden. "Children of two brothers and of two sisters, also, look upon themselves as brothers and sisters, and call each other that. They are so regarded by others also." Children call a father's brothers "father"; and a mother's sisters "mother." Also forbidden is a marriage between a man and one of the wives of his deceased father—"obviously he cannot marry such women; they are his 'mothers.'" Nor can a man marry the daughter of his wife's brother. Hallowell's informant reported the same (1943, p. 490). "Two men in this area (Alepúe) are so married, but the people criticize them for it." According to one of my best informants, a man, however, may marry his wife's sister's daughter, a statement which needs verification.

614 No informant had heard of a sib system. The oldest informants—one of whom at least was more than 100 years old—did not know the meaning of the words kuga and elpa, terms found in the literature which might lead one to suspect a sib system. (Cf. pp. 38-40.) Cooper's more recent sources, too, noted that they found no recollection of a sib system among their Araucanian informants (1946, pp. 722-723).

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly transvestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily women. In more recent times, the profession has been followed almost exclusively by women (1946:750).

There is an odd turn of logic here, or a hidden assumption. Simply because male shamans were transvestites does not mean that there were no female shamans, although that seems to be the implication, or that they were outnumbered by men. Nevertheless, judging from the rest of his remarks, this appears to have been Cooper's conclusion—a conclusion rectifiable only by a revision of the sources he himself must have utilized, for these do not bear him out (e.g. *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago*, and the sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century sources cited in the bibliography).

The shift from a male-dominated profession, at some vague period prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, to the contemporary dominance by females is actually unsubstantiated. Titiev points out that he has arrived at the same conclusion independently of Cooper, and writes:

Many years ago the office was generally held by men, and it is practically certain that they were abnormal, at least with respect to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been true hermaphrodites, the rest . . . transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy and pederasty was common (1951:117).

Titiev also believes that there were more males than females practicing shamanism at some time in the past. It is also implied that there were a great number of male *machi*, if the words "widespread indulgence in sodomy," etc. were not used inadvertently or otherwise. This judgment is not in agreement with the source material on which, if it purports to be an historical statement at all, it must certainly have been based. Reuel Smith, specially referring to male shamans, states that *machi* were expensive practitioners because their numbers were few (1914 [Spanish translation of 1855 English edition]: 142). Citing Emile House (1939:113), Titiev implies that prior to the latter nineteenth century there were no female shamans, after which time there followed "a period when the post of

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorcerers by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual [illegible]ce.

An interesting matter of the rel[illegible]of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungulmachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The *ñillatufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work